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strument of civilization, is the certain means of national pollution and decadence. All this will have its effect. The human in man still lives as well as the brute. The human will grow sick of the brutal and cast it out. People cannot forever be fooled or fool themselves. The lesson of these years is becoming increasingly clear, and when fully learned it will be a long time before another such is allowed. The tide of opposition to brute force in human affairs will go higher than ever before.

This century, in spite of its great convulsions and wars, has been called "the wonderful century," in respect of the discoveries and inventions made during its progress. It has in this regard equaled all the preceding centuries combined. But it has been no less wonderful in the progress of civil and religious liberty, in the transformation of political institutions, in the enlargement and organization of religious work, in the growth and expansion of commerce, in the development of education. It has created and probably more than half solved the temperance problem. It has almost emancipated woman and put her far along in the way of securing every right belonging to her. It has given a new and higher meaning to common law. It has begun the reform and codification of international law. It has abolished the "unknown regions," leaving nothing more to discover. It has created a "universal fraternity of things," binding the world together all round, and begun the formation of a world-society. It has asked the deepest and broadest industrial and social questions, and already heroically begun their solution. It has organized and sustained a movement for universal peace, learned the art of settling disputes rationally, and laid the foundations of a great seat of justice for all humanity.

In whatever direction one looks, despite the darkness and horror here and there, one sees the century teeming with light and promise. Shall all this cease now and go for nothing? To believe so is to assert that humanity has gone irrecoverably insane, that God has departed, and that the devil has assumed trusteeship of the world. The very clouds now surrounding these mountain tops of attainment serve only to render their greatness and durability the more manifest. War, with its havoc of death and corruption, is a passing phenomenon. It is making what will probably prove to be its last "rush." All efforts to reinstate it will fail; all fair arguments to prove it Christian will go down under the logic of the on-coming Kingdom of God,—the kingdom of righteousness, justice, love, goodwill and peace. The Christmas time, which we shall be so soon celebrating, is the divine pledge, every year renewed, that the mission of the Master, undertaken in the spirit of uttermost love and self-sacrifice, shall not fail, that the kingdoms of this world shall become His, that "eternal

peace" shall reign over all the earth, through the individual and coöperative services of men of goodwill.

Attitude of the Country on Imperialism.

It is difficult to determine from the result of the election the attitude of the people of the United States on the subject of imperialism. It would be very rash to conclude from the return of the Administration to power for another term, that the people believe in and have purposely adopted the new policy. Large numbers of citizens who are entirely opposed to subjugating the Filipinos, or any other people, and who have no sympathy with the principle, "You must stand by the flag, no matter what it is doing," voted for McKinley because they believed worse dangers would befall the country from the election of Mr. Bryan. This is true of the Eastern states, where, nevertheless, numbers of voters did refuse to support the Republican ticket. If all who disbelieve in the new policy had so refused, Mr. McKinley would have lost every Eastern state. In the Central West similar sentiments ruled to considerable extent, though the Administration vote there indicates the greater prevalence of imperialistic sentiment. In the extreme West it is well known that a majority of the people have been carried away by the "expansion," "world power," commercial cries.

Taking the country as a whole, it is impossible to believe that a people brought up as this great people has been, has deliberately, or even thoughtlessly, adopted the new policy, with all that it means in the way of injustice, foreign entanglements, war, army and navy increase, burdens of taxation, degradation of the national ideals and character, and serious temporary blight to the cause of liberty and right everywhere. We are compelled to interpret the result of the election in some other way.

On the other hand, the immediate practical effect of the election is unmistakable. It fixes the imperialist policy upon the nation for many years to come, with all its inevitable attendants. The war in the Philippines, which the inhabitants will not stop in order to fulfill the gratuitous prophecies of the imperialist orators, will be pushed with increased severity (the order has already gone forth), in order to complete the subjugation of the people and crush out their last hope of independence. The slaughter of the inhabitants, the burning of their villages, the sacrifice of American soldiers, the awful ravages of immorality, will go on, nobody can guess how long.

The Administration and its confidants will interpret the election as a full approval by the country of all that it has done, from the peace treaty on, and will fortify and strengthen the imperialist position in every possible way. It will laugh at and ignore those anti-imperialists who have supported it in the hope that it can be induced to reverse its policy.

The new Congress will be imbued with the same spirit to such a degree that scant consideration will be shown to any of its members, either in the House or in the Senate, who may attempt to plead the cause of Filipino right to independence, or turn the country back to its historic principles and high professions of devotion to human rights and human liberties.

In the direction of military and naval development the result is just as certain. That increasingly powerful circle of men who have turned every stone for years in behalf of their navy and army projects will be bolder and more exacting than ever. Something very like European militarism, if yet some way off, is now, like an irresistible charmer, looking us straight in the face. The naval promoters will push forward the plans for the thirty or more new war-vessels which the Construction Board had in hand awaiting the result of the election. The support of the Administration will be given to these plans, and Congress will be skilfully lobbied in their behalf, and will accept them in large part. Rear Admiral Crowninshield's startling plea, in his recent report from the Navigation Bureau, that the personnel of the navy must be quadrupled in order to put the country into condition "to fight a first-class European power," will stir the blood of "patriotic" officials and congressmen into feverish anxiety lest some powerful foe fall upon us unawares.

The outcome of all this is perfectly evident. The country has allowed to be forced upon it the new policy of aggressive, forceful expansion; therefore a big navy and an "adequate" army are absolutely essential to carry it out! General MacArthur's annual report, received since the election, dispels all illusion as to the collapse of Filipino opposition, so overweeningly prophesied by men who sought to shift to the shoulders of others blame for the outbreak and continuance of hostilities. "At present and for many years to come," he says, "the necessity of a large American military and naval force is too apparent to admit of discussion." The standing army, therefore, as well as the navy, will be permanently enlarged, to what extent ultimately nobody can foresee; for it will be done gradually, and with as much covertness as possible, in order to delude the people and prevent their righteous antagonism.

This, then, whatever the result of the election may signify as to the sentimental attitude of the people, is the practical situation that confronts the country. There is nothing whatever in it to inspire hope in those who have boasted to the world that the United States has been the political leader of the nations in the development of the principles of brotherhood and peace, and who wish her to continue in this leadership. But it is no time for despair and renunciation of effort. The gloomier the prospect and the greater the peril, the more faithful must we all be in declar-

ing the truth, setting forth the danger and pointing out the way of escape.

The lengths to which the country will go in the paths of aggression and injustice, in loading itself with the burdens and dangers of militarism, debasing its character and crippling the unsurpassed power for good in the world which its institutions, if faithfully maintained, rightly give it, will depend largely on the loyalty to duty of those who see clearly the perils of the situation. Nothing could be more disastrous, in view of the circumstances, than a blind and easy confidence in destiny, a hopeless surrender to the drift of things, an easy-going belief that after all "the powers that be" will bring everything out right in the end. Unfortunately, that is just the kind of spirit that many will exhibit.

The country will some day come to its senses on this subject, as it did on the matter of slavery and its conduct towards the Indians. But, alas, that it should have to go through the slough of another great iniquity! If it can be saved from this, it will only be through the individual and collective efforts of those who are already aware of the whirling speed at which we are going down. There is work to do in every corner of the land, something more serious than election-campaign gossip, splutter and catchy argument. Let it be done now, and with the purpose that there shall be no relaxation of energy if a whole generation shall be necessary for the accomplishment of the difficult task.

Dean Farrar's Imperialism, War and Christianity.

In the September *North American Review* was an article by Rev. F. W. Farrar, Dean of Canterbury, on "Imperialism and Christianity," which was worthy of the pen of the most materialistic defender of war. Von Moltke himself could not have done better. Its immediate purpose was to try to relieve many English Christians of the burden "pressing heavily" on their consciences in regard to the South African war; its wider purpose, to destroy the growing sensitiveness of Christian consciences in general as to the lawfulness of war, and to teach the followers of Christ that war is a part of the "divine crusade" of their Master against the "machinations of the devil," and therefore to be entered into with a high heart, free from the slightest misgiving.

The grounds on which the venerable clergyman's argument rests are even more surprising than the extraordinary position which he takes. He defines "imperialism," as now used in English, as "that view of national duty and policy which maintains that we are bound to uphold, even at the cost of war, and in spite of all hazards, the empire over those vast regions which the providence of God has placed under our dominion and immediate influence." The most